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1916
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Year Book

of

The Woman's Peace Party

The Section for the United States
of the International Committee of
Women for Permanent Peace

1916

Headquarters
116 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

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Year Book FEB 10 1916

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Headquarters
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Chicago, Illinois

*“Peace as understood by
Pacifism means a condition
of organized living together
among nations.”*

—ALFRED FRIED

Holder of a Noble Peace Prize

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The Woman's Peace Party

PREAMBLE AND PLATFORM ADOPTED AT WASHINGTON,
JANUARY 10, 1915, AND AMENDED JANUARY 11, 1916

We, women of the United States, assembled in behalf of World Peace, grateful for the security of our own country, but sorrowing for the misery of all involved in the present struggle among warring nations, do hereby band ourselves together to demand that war be abolished.

Equally with men pacifists, we understand that planned-for, legalized, wholesale, human slaughter is today the sum of all villainies.

As women, we feel a peculiar moral passion of revolt against both the cruelty and the waste of war.

As women, we are especially the custodians of the life of the ages. We will not longer consent to its reckless destruction.

As women, we are particularly charged with the future of childhood and with the care of the helpless and the unfortunate. We will not longer endure without protest that added burden of maimed and invalid men and poverty-stricken widows and orphans which war places upon us.

As women, we have builded by the patient drudgery of the past the basic foundation of the home and of peaceful industry. We will not longer endure without a protest that must be heard and heeded by men, that hoary evil which in an hour destroys the social structure that centuries of toil have reared.

As women, we are called upon to start each generation onward toward a better humanity. We will not longer tolerate without determined opposition that denial of the sovereignty of reason and justice by which war and all that makes for war today render impotent the idealism of the race.

Therefore, as human beings and the mother half of humanity, we demand that our right to be consulted in the settlement of questions concerning not alone the life of individuals but of nations be recognized and respected.

We demand that women be given a share in deciding between war and peace in all the courts of high debate—within the home, the school, the church, the industrial order, and the state.

So protesting, and so demanding, we hereby form ourselves into a national organization to be called the Woman's Peace Party.

We hereby adopt the following as our platform of principles, some of the items of which have been accepted by a majority vote, and more of which have been the unanimous choice of those attending the conference that initiated the formation of this organization. We have sunk all differences of opinion on minor matters and given freedom of expression to a wide divergence of opinion in the details of our platform and in our statement of explanation and information, in a common desire to make our woman's protest against war and all that makes for war, vocal, commanding and effective. We welcome to our membership all who are in substantial sympathy with that fundamental purpose of our organization, whether or not they can accept in full our detailed statement of principles.

The purpose of this Organization is to enlist all American women in arousing the nations to respect the sacredness of human life and to abolish war. The following is adopted as our platform.

1. The immediate calling of a convention of neutral nations in the interest of early peace.
2. Limitation of armaments and the nationalization of their manufacture.
3. Organized opposition to militarism in our own country.
4. Education of youth in the ideals of peace.
5. Democratic control of foreign policies.
6. The further humanizing of governments by the extension of the franchise to women.
7. "Concert of Nations" to supersede "Balance of Power."
8. Action toward the gradual organization of the world to substitute Law for War.
9. The substitution of economic pressure and non-intercourse for rival armies and navies.
10. Removal of the economic causes of war.
11. The appointment by our Government of a commission of men and women, with an adequate appropriation, to promote international peace.

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List of Most Important Branch Headquarters

NEW YORK CITY

CRYSTAL EASTMAN, *Vice-Chairman*
Headquarters, 70 Fifth Avenue.

MASSACHUSETTS

MRS. J. MALCOLM FORBES, *President*
421 Boylston Street
Boston.

PENNSYLVANIA

MRS. WILLIAM I. HULL, *Chairman*
Headquarters, 1000 Bailey Building
Philadelphia.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

MRS. FREDERICK J. TAUSSIG
Railway Exchange Building.

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Officers

Chairman

MISS JANE ADDAMS, of Chicago

Vice-Chairmen

MRS. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, Meadville, Pa.

MRS. WILLIAM KENT, Kentville, Marin County, Cal.

MRS. LOUIS F. POST, 2513 Twelfth St., Washington, D. C.

MRS. FREDERICK J. TAUSSIG, Railway Exchange Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

National Secretary

MRS. LUCIA AMES MEAD, 39 Newbury St., Boston, Mass.

National Treasurer

MISS SOFHINISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE, 116 South Michigan Ave., Chicago

Additional Ex-Officio Members of the Executive Board

MRS. GEORGE ODELL, 2014 Hilyer Pl., Washington, D. C.,
Chairman of the Legislative Committee

MISS ZONA GALE, Portage, Wis.
Chairman of the Committee for Propaganda through
Existing Organizations

Other Standing Committees

MRS. JOHN JAY WHITE, 1824 R. St., Washington, D. C.
Chairman of the Art Committee

Executive Secretary

MRS. WILLIAM I. THOMAS, 116 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

National Headquarters

ROOM 500, 116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

Report of the First Annual Meeting of The Woman's Peace Party

THE SECTION FOR THE UNITED STATES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF WOMEN FOR PERMANENT PEACE

Held at Washington, D. C., January 8-10, 1916.

Headquarters at the New Willard Hotel.

First Session: January 8, 8 p. m.

The first session opened as appointed, with Miss Addams in the chair. About two hundred, nearly all delegates, were present. Mrs. Thomas acted as registrar and received credentials. A draft for a Constitution which had been presented to a delegate Preliminary Conference on November 19, 1915, printed copies of which had previously been provided for all delegates, was discussed at length, and was adopted with but few changes.

The matters discussed and acted on favorably were as follows: (a) that chairmen of two of the standing committees be placed on the Executive Board; (b) that the nominating committee be appointed at the annual meeting at its first session, and report at a later session; (c) that no person shall have more than one vote; (d) that members who have joined less than six months previous to the Annual Meeting shall have a voice but no vote at the annual meeting; (e) that the National Woman's Peace Party shall have sole authority to issue printed matter in its name; (f) that the sub-title for the National Party be "The Section for the United States of the International Committee for Permanent Peace"; (g) that the words "substantial" and "substantially" in connection with affirmation of faith be retained in the Preamble and be in-

served in the Constitution; (*h*) that the statement regarding sacredness of life which appears in the Preamble adopted last year be incorporated in the statement of the "object" of the national body. The only other discussions on the Constitution were in regard to verbal changes. The chief discussion of the evening centered around the adoption of the sub-title in Article I, and the retention of the word "substantially" in Article III. The Constitution, as a whole, was adopted.

Mrs. Mead, speaking for the Massachusetts Branch, voiced the difficulty which it found in satisfying its anti-suffragist members who felt that the attitude of the Party had changed in its emphasis on suffrage since it had become the section of the International Committee of Women at the Hague. The latter had made belief in suffrage and in international peace its two conditions of membership, and had placed suffrage first.

Miss Addams said, "It does commit us to suffrage much more strongly than does the platform of the Woman's Peace Party. The Woman's Peace Party has one plank out of eleven standing for suffrage. The International Committee made suffrage a *sine qua non* of belonging to the International body."

Mrs. Forbes, chairman of the Massachusetts Branch, was called to the platform. She explained the difficult position in which the Branch was placed, and said she should be much happier if she were assured that she could state to anti-suffragist members that we still stood where we did before as regards conditions of membership.

Miss Addams took the floor and explained at length in regard to the Congress called at The Hague by Dutch, English, and German women, and which had its inception among members of the International Suffrage Alliance, who were anxious to discuss peace. Though the Alliance, as a whole, after taking a vote among all its Branches, felt it inexpedient to call a conference, a small group did so and held a very successful International Congress of women. A permanent

committee consisting of two women from twelve different countries was organized, calling itself "The Woman's Committee for Permanent Peace." Mrs. Andrews and Miss Addams were the American members, but did not represent The Woman's Peace Party. These members who represented twelve different countries, went back to form committees in their respective countries to promote permanent peace, or to induce existing organizations to come in and be sections. In Hungary, the existing National Woman's Suffrage Association became the committee for the International Committee for Peace. In France, a new committee was formed, with Mme. Duchêne, who had been very active in women's clubs, as its chairman. In England, a new committee was formed, one of the most brilliant committees ever formed in England, now numbering several hundred women. It was understood that the American members could not commit The Woman's Peace Party to undertake to act as the American section, though they hoped that instead of having to organize a new group, the Party would become the American section. One of the Committee's chief functions is to arrange for a meeting to be held at the time and place of settlement of the war. It appoints two people in each country; these two to add to themselves three others. These five are to secure thirty women who can go to the Congress to be held after the war. The five could in this country organize independently and, if they did, we should have two organizations somewhat overlapping. Miss Addams explained that the action of the Executive Board, in agreeing that The Woman's Peace Party should act as the section for the United States of the International Committee, might be reconsidered, but the attitude of the International Committee could not be changed.

Miss Janet Richards at some length emphasized the importance of the suffrage plank.

Mrs. Forbes suggested that we might be "affiliated, without being a section."

Mrs. Mead thought it very desirable not to change the action of the Executive Board in voting that we become the

American section and equally desirable to stand by our Preamble, which states that those in "substantial agreement" with the Platform are welcome. She felt that no Republican or Democrat felt himself bound by every single plank in his party's platform. She said: "All that is necessary is that we should state distinctly here that it is our sense of our connection with the International Committee that it does not oblige us in the least to turn out of our American Branch those members who have not accepted our suffrage plank, but who are heartily in sympathy with the rest of it."

Mrs. Villard said: "I personally considered it a great weakness on our part that we invited to our membership those people who were in substantial agreement with us. I would have liked it better if we could have said: 'All those who are fully in sympathy with us shall join us!' I would have left no loophole through which any one differing with us could join us."

Mrs. Evans of Massachusetts voiced the difficulties of the Connecticut members who had much trouble with the suffrage plank, and she read a printed statement from their State Branch as follows: "The Woman's Peace Party is an organization where every woman who really desires peace may find some common ground with other women who also desire to work for this."

Mrs. Allender speaking about Vermont women said: "They couldn't have organized, if one had said, 'We have two planks, one Suffrage, the other Peace.' Now I hope we will let them live."

Miss Addams explained that the Dutch and English suffragists aimed at "a small working body, well knit together, who understand each other on these two planks. We have gone in for more propaganda, and the question is, Are the two things compatible?"

Mrs. Silverman said: "We are working for peace, and when once we establish an international relationship with an international understanding of the causes of war, all other things will follow after."

Miss Burritt inquired about the backing of the committee in the various countries.

Miss Addams said the Congress was started by suffragists who believed that a peace meeting could and should be held in time of war. "It is only the women who have been accustomed to suffrage and other unpopular causes who will come out for peace in a country at war."

Mrs. Andrews asked Miss Addams whether she thought the International Committee would accept people who did not believe in Suffrage. She said: "In England every person who joins the British Committee is obliged to believe in suffrage."

Miss Addams replied: "If we go back and say that suffrage is one of our planks, that the bulk of the members are suffragists, but in some states in New England, which are more conservative, there are people joining who are not suffragists, I think they would accept it. If we had to say the bulk were not suffragists, it would be doubtful."

Mrs. Benedict thought that there was no practical issue unless the International Committee itself raised it.

Miss Breckinridge pointed out that it was inaccurate to speak of The Woman's Peace Party as having eleven planks and of the International Congress as having only two. It had also a large number of resolutions. She asked: "Isn't it true that suffrage was one, and peace as interpreted by the whole Congress was twelve or sixteen?" Suffrage was certainly not half.

Mrs. Andrews said: "The issue should not be raised with the other side until they question this statement in our Preamble."

Mrs. Speel mentioned a club that is auxiliary to the Woman's Peace Party which contained over fifty anti-suffragists out of two hundred and eighty members.

The vote on adopting the sub-title was carried unanimously.

In discussing Article II, which stated the "Object," Mrs. Villard uttered a "protest against the whole thing" as "weak and useless." She did not know why the sacredness of human

life, which so far as she knew had been mentioned by no other society than The Woman's Peace Party, had been omitted from this statement.

Mrs. Forbes approved of changing the phrase in question, borrowed from the Preamble to the Platform, but argued that to many thinking people the idea of substituting law for war is still a new conception, and that all the other statements of the "Object" should be retained.

In discussing Article III, Mrs. Villard moved that the word "substantially" be omitted from the statement that "Those eligible for membership are: I, all women who substantially support its platform."

Mrs. Post spoke for the retention of the word. She said: "'Substantially' means that we are in as close association and affiliation as it is practical for all large bodies to be."

Madame de Baralt told of the difficulties that would arise in her formation of branches in Cuba and Latin America if the idea of substantial agreement were not retained.

Voted almost unanimously not to strike out the word "substantially."

The election of the Nominating Committee took place; several were nominated who declined to serve. Only five were finally nominated: Mrs. Thomas of Illinois, Mrs. Forbes of Massachusetts, Miss Marian Burritt of New York, Mrs. Speel of Washington, and Mrs. Chamberlain of Pennsylvania. These were elected and permitted to choose their own chairman.

Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, retiring President of the National Council of Women, invited the members of The Woman's Peace Party to attend the meetings of the Council on the 12th, 13th and 14th of January.

Mrs. Odell, chairman of the Legislative Committee, announced that arrangements had been made for members of the Party to be heard before Committees of the Congress of the United States.

Constitution

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of this organization shall be "The Woman's Peace Party: The Section for the United States of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace."

ARTICLE II

Object

The object of The Woman's Peace Party shall be to protest against the war system; to substitute law for war; to enlist all women of the United States in arousing the nations to respect the sacredness of human life and to abolish war; to promote methods for the attainment of that peace between nations which is based on justice; and to co-operate with women of other countries who are working towards the same ends.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Those eligible for membership in The Woman's Peace Party are:

1. All women who substantially support its platform, and who pay the prescribed fee for some form of membership.
2. Affiliated independent organizations (organized for other purposes) which declare themselves to be in accord with the object as above stated, which shall be called "Groups," and have "Group Membership."

ARTICLE IV

Organization

There shall be a National Executive Board. There shall be State Branches with Chairmen, Executive Boards and local committees, and, so far as practicable, a Chairman for each Congressional District. There shall also be Local Branches affiliated directly with the National, and also with State Branches where practicable. The Executive Boards of State Branches and Local Branches shall decide for their localities on all matters which are not prescribed in this Constitution.

ARTICLE V

Officers

The officers of The Woman's Peace Party shall consist of a National Chairman, four Vice-Chairmen, a National Secretary and National Treasurer, to be elected at the Annual Meeting; these, with the Chairmen of its Legislative Committee and its Committee for Propaganda through Existing Organizations, shall together constitute the National Executive Board.

ARTICLE VI

Duties of the National Executive Board

It shall engage an Executive Secretary with salary who shall sit at its sessions without a vote. It shall appoint the State Chairman when a State is first organized; and shall give general advice and help. It shall have sole authority to issue printed matter in the name of the National Woman's Peace Party. It shall call an Annual Meeting, and one or more other general meetings if desirable, during the year. And it shall appoint Chairmen of standing committees and engage National Organizers. It shall act authoritatively in all emergencies as the voice of the National organization.

ARTICLE VII

State and Local Branches

The State Branches and the Local Branches shall elect their own officers, with the exception of the State Chairmen during the first period of organization, who shall be appointed by the National Executive Board. State Branches and Local Branches may form auxiliary or popular memberships on such conditions and with such fees as they see fit. They may use such emblems and appoint such committees, and the State Branches such Chairmen of Congressional Districts, as they desire. The State and Local Branches shall mutually agree upon the division of State and Local fees. All State and Local Branches shall make especial endeavor to secure Group Membership of churches, clubs, granges, etc., in their own neighborhoods, thus aiding in the work and in the support of the National Headquarters.

ARTICLE VIII

Dues

Each member-at-large of the National organization shall pay one dollar annually into the National Treasury. Sustaining members shall pay five dollars annually, and life members fifty dollars into the National Treasury. Each Group shall acquire and continue Group

Membership by paying either directly or through a State or Local Branch five dollars annually into the National Treasury. Each Local Branch, and each State Branch which is not composed of Local Branches, shall pay five cents per capita on their membership annually into the National Treasury, the minimum payment to be five dollars.

ARTICLE IX

Nominations

A Nominating Committee of five, no two of whom shall be from one State, shall be elected at the first session of the Annual Meeting. This Committee shall nominate all National officers, with the exception of the Chairmen of the standing committees, and one or more Auditors. All members of the organization may present names to the Committee for their consideration.

ARTICLE X

Elections

All elective officers shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting. The Executive Board may fill vacancies in their number that occur during the year. Each member-at-large who pays one dollar or more into the National Treasury, and who has been a member for at least six months, shall be entitled to one vote at the Annual Meeting. Each Local Branch, and each State Branch which is not composed of Local Branches, shall be entitled to one delegate. for each twenty members, or one for the first twenty members or less. Each affiliated Group shall be entitled to one delegate. No person shall have more than one vote.

ARTICLE XI

International Relations

The Woman's Peace Party shall be the Section for the United States of the International Organization ("Committee") of Women for Permanent Peace.

ARTICLE XII

Amendments

Amendments by a two-thirds vote may be made at any annual meeting, provided that announcement of said amendments is sent out with the call for the meeting. Proposed amendments must be sent in to the Executive Board at least six weeks before the annual meeting.

Mass Meeting at Poli's Theatre

January 9—3 P. M.

SUMMARY OF THE ADDRESSES.

Chairman, MISS JANE ADDAMS.

Miss Addams, in addressing the audience of twenty-five hundred persons, recalled the initial meeting of The Woman's Peace Party a year previous, and the brilliant speeches at the great mass meeting held in connection with it. These largely dealt in generalities "because the war had not then influenced matters in America as 'it has since.'" "It was," she said, "fitting that the meeting today should be somewhat sober in character, if only because being a year old we have reached the age of responsibility." Miss Addams in presenting Mrs. Andrews referred to her as largely responsible for the phenomenal success of the American School Peace League, and said that she is connected with the peace movement abroad, as well as at home.

Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Secretary of the American School Peace League, discussed "The Education of Youth in the Ideals of Peace." She said that the spirit of Pan-Americanism which prevailed at the epoch-making Congress just closed must ultimately control all international relations. The spirit of co-operation alone could suffice in the long period of reconstruction which will follow the war. Deep-rooted sentiments must be wiped out and a radical departure be made from the traditions and the sentiments of the past. The fundamental method of accomplishing this must be work with the children. Beginning with the lower grades, the child must be taught the principles of co-operation and good-will as applied, first to his family, then to his school, his town, his state, his nation and the family of nations. This teaching

must be done scientifically through proper text books in which the concrete applications of these principles can be developed. Such a book, entitled "A Course in Citizenship," published by the School Peace League, aims to give this systematic training for both home and school.

Many educators feel that history text books place far too much emphasis upon the political and military phases of history, and far too little upon the social institutions which have influenced the destiny of our nation. The development of our resources, and of our industries, and the working of our unique experiment as a federated nation, form a conspicuous part of our history, and should be taught as our constructive achievements, and our wars as merely their temporary interruptions. Our relation to other nations is increasing in importance, and the school should teach that the economic, social and intellectual welfare of humanity demands uninterrupted co-operation among the nations.

In introducing Miss C. E. Mason, Miss Addams said: "I think the feeling that we heard most often expressed last year, when we were in Europe, was the longing on the part of the people of every country for some clue to the psychological state in which Europe found itself."

Miss Mason spoke on the "Psychology of Peace." She said that at the Pan-American Conference it was evident that unification had already begun. The European war has battered down walls at which they never fired a shot, and among these are the walls that we were taught in our geography existed between the Pan-American countries. This is a supreme moment in the destiny of the world. It is for us to take and use this new spiritual union. No delay is necessary for diplomatic procedure. On the day of Pentecost, people from Persia and Mesopotamia met in spiritual unity without waiting for diplomacy. When kindly feeling comes, we have already the beating heart of courtesy, and need not fear the wounding of each others' feelings. Embedded in the brain of all mankind is the spirit of fear, from the child's fear of the dark to man's fear of attack. The mothers of the country

must perform the great psychologic task of creating the thought of peace, and must do the work in the home which Mrs. Andrews is trying to have done in the school. Even a little child can be awed by the thought of stellar spaces and feel its own littleness, and it can likewise get some conception of the international mind before the later school grades. The principle of property rights can be shown to apply equally to property of the neighbor on the other side of the fence, or that of the nation on the other side of the boundary line. The neighborly mind, the brotherly heart, the spirit of fair play in athletics, must be taught as applying to international relations. The boy who yields to the umpire's decision can understand how a nation should yield to a Hague Court decision. If there is an understanding between the mothers of all countries, the children can be reached. That means that the world can be reached and transformed in its ideals.

In presenting Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, who spoke on "Limitation of Armaments," Miss Addams said: "One of the few real hopes which even pessimists have with regard to the outcome of the war is that it will bring a limitation of armaments, not only because the belligerents will be exhausted, but because they will have seen the danger and futility of sustaining huge armies and navies. It, therefore, seems unfortunate, to say the least, that before the terms of peace are made, and we know what limitation of armaments may be agreed upon, we should be considering increased naval and military appropriations."

Mrs. Benedict spoke to the plank in the Party platform which advocated limitation of armaments and the nationalization of their manufacture. "The vital question is whether we are to interpret this plank in a spirit of compromise and timidity, or with courage and vigor." Soldiers, editors, lawyers, business men are frightened. There is nothing new since Ezekiel's time in their terror and declaration that the enemy is upon us. "Have you," she asked, "seen the cartoon in which President Wilson, as a little figure, faces the great army of munition makers and cries out, 'But we have no

enemies!' and they retort, 'Buy our guns and we will see that you have an enemy.' They are saying to Congress, 'Never mind the death of democracy, nor our foreign policies, whether they be just or unjust, but prepare!' In face of this, we say to Congress, 'Gentlemen, wait; go slow. We are not afraid. First investigate and find out how the \$250,000,000 that we are now spending on national defence is used.' It's bad enough that brothers should kill brothers to settle questions of geography, but it's worse that millionaires in their own countries should be making profit by it. Thirdly, we ask how the cost of the new program is to be borne; by taking it out of big incomes? or by placing more burden on the poor? Take all the pleasures and profits out of 'preparedness' before we discuss it at all. Fourthly, advocates of 'preparedness' admit that there is no danger of invasion for ten years. We want those ten years in which to bring a new spirit into the world. It is America's opportunity to conceive and propose the method that shall bring the new spirit of internationalism. If you commit us to a 'preparedness' program, we lose the greatest opportunity a nation ever had. We want time to think about these 'enemies.' If you fear Japan, let us try a joint commission of the wisest men of the United States and Japan to consider our common difficulties. If the Monroe Doctrine troubles you, let us make this Pan-American Union a real political federation, dedicated to peace and democracy. Instead of old-world militarism, let us have a new-world attempt at real internationalism. No European nation would attack such a union, even though not a single submarine were added. The whole 'preparedness' campaign is built upon a lie, which is that a two-power navy and great army would assure liberty, prosperity and peace. Millions are dying in Europe to prove that is a lie. Yesterday's papers announced Japan's proposals in view of our action. Our increase means their increase. Military preparedness does not mean increased security. The road to war is paved with 'preparedness.' " (*Prolonged applause.*)

"This," said Miss Addams, "is the most encouraging thing I have heard for a long time."

Before introducing Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Miss Addams referred to her as well known among pacifists in this and other countries. She then spoke of Romain Rolland, the great French writer, who ever since the war began has been working for the principles of friendship and good-will for which he staked his life before the war began. He feels that if certain Frenchmen are now called to defend their territory, other Frenchmen are called to defend the soul, and the good-will of the nation. It takes as much courage to write as he is writing now as it does to fight in the trenches; he has soaked his thoughts in blood-stained earth, quite sure that in the end his ideas must prevail.

Mrs. Mead spoke on "The Growth of Militarism." She said: "Probably not since the wide-spread witchcraft delusion of the Middle Ages have we seen such an obsession of the minds of educated men as we are witnessing today in this mad, military craze. Ordinarily reasonable men are advocating a revolutionary policy which mortgages our future, which will create hostile rivalry and prevent the very security we seek. At a time when no one can attack us for many years to come, when all the powers are becoming impoverished and depleted, our government asks for forty times as great an increase in naval expenditure as Germany made in the five years previous to the war. This is after we have spent in two years more than in the four years of the previous administration.

"Militarism is rampant. This does not imply increased love of war. It means increased reliance on force and that explosives are our best defense against our chief dangers. If this startling increase of militarism is not to poison our national life, the preposterous scare that has been artificially increased must be dissipated. Military and naval experts cannot deal with the main factor in the problem, as it is psychological. Men who, after long study in their own country of party politics, will not dare prophesy the political

action of America six months hence, will vote away two billion dollars on the guess of what some other nation may do ten years hence. Experts have not been asked to deal with the sole question that should interest us, that is, how we should defend ourselves against reasonable dangers. They have been asked, instead, what is necessary to make our navy equal the strongest. That ignores the main factor—our probable danger. Men who have had a tremendous emotional shock are appealing to war technicians who are the last people capable of dealing with the most important elements in the problem.

"A citizen army is as necessary for a country like Switzerland with only the population of Massachusetts and the area of one-third of New York State, as it is unnecessary for us. Oceans are an enormous protection. It would take 900 vessels with troops, fuel, ammunition, supplies and armed vessels for protection to transport even 100,000 Germans to attack us and would take two months' time to reach us. Not even a victorious Germany could send more than half her fleet. She would have more new territory than she could hold. She could not leave her own land unguarded and would have to sink the British fleet and our fleet before she could reach us. A program of rational preparedness includes a League of Nations to enforce peace by settling disputes judicially and punishing a faithless nation by drastic, concerted non-intercourse; a world-wide guarantee for the principle involved in our Monroe Doctrine, thus enabling us to lessen our fleet on the Atlantic; independence and neutralization of the Philippines, thus reducing our navy in the Pacific; and an American-Oriental commission to study our problem with the Orient.

"Militarism, like the small pox, is one; the poison is the same, though some nations have milder cases than others. The one thing that will militarize America is the proposed preposterous preparedness against hypothetical foes."

In introducing Miss Laura Clay, Miss Addams said she would speak to that "valuable part of our program—the suffrage plank."

Miss Clay said that never before had the sufferings of women from war been so pressed upon the popular mind. Though called "non-combatants," thousands had perished and tens of thousands been driven from their homes. Upon women have fallen the industrial burdens more fitted for men. Though all these calamities have befallen them, no word have they been allowed to say about the beginning or end of hostilities. In 1815, in the United States, an organized movement for peace began, and since then the effort has been to substitute law for war. This idea is growing and it is apparent that the idea of international peace and disarmament is not Utopian. It is only in obedience to the universal law of righteousness that the nations may attain the highest material good. Statesmen have shown the fallacy of wars bringing prosperity; artists have pictured the horrors of war; through the Hague Conference, machinery has been created to achieve international justice; yet in spite of this, Europe is in a war such as the world has never seen. Unless we find something new to add to its arrangements, only a repetition of this conflict or one even more terrible will ensue. In face of the possibilities of further invention of terrible instruments of death, the cry from suffering humanity has risen and been heeded by the women. The Woman's Peace Party declares that human life should be too sacred to surrender to the selfish interests of any class. To the main planks of their platform, well known to the pacifists, they have added one central one, "The further humanization of government and the extension of suffrage to women." All the masculine passions have been expressed in government, and the war in Europe shows what must happen when the duality of human nature is forgotten and only the masculine mind has sway, unbalanced and uncorrected by the feminine half of humanity. Against the passions of imperialism, commercialism and militarism the Woman's Peace Party proposes to bring the passion of mother-love, flowing out in sympathy for all suffering.

Miss Addams, calling Mrs. Post to the chair, spoke on the

first plank of the Platform, which called for a Conference of neutral nations.

Miss Addams said: "The Conference of Neutral Nations, as you know, was part of our platform a year ago because we believed that if representatives of neutral nations should sit in some European city, where they might collect and publish existing propositions and, at the same time, make propositions from one warring country to another, in the end, if they were fair-minded and devoted men, some basis might be found upon which peace negotiations might later be begun.

"After the Woman's International Congress at The Hague, in which American women took part, the delegates who went into various countries found that in the warring nations the notion of a Conference of Neutrals was not unwelcome, at least officials said they would not consider arrangement for it an unfriendly act; and some of them went further. The foreign office of Great Britain said, for instance, that mediation through the ambassadors of various nations had been offered from London throughout the whole of the first Balkan War, and it was to be expected that some other nation might suggest it in regard to the present war. Five neutral countries visited were ready for co-operation with such a conference; two of them were ready to call such a conference if they were assured that the United States would participate. We, therefore, came home with high hopes.

"We found, however, that the administration here, doubtless with the very best of reasons, felt that the time had not yet come for action, a decision concerning which we never for a moment felt critical as the Government has much more information than we have. As a result, however, of this decision there developed among the members of the Woman's Peace Party, as well as among other people, a plan for a possible conference of neutrals that should be non-governmental, not to take the place of a governmental conference but to prepare the way for it. I should like to explain, if

I may, the relation of this proposed conference to Mr. Ford's expedition.

"We were very grateful when Mr. Ford became interested in the idea of a conference of neutrals and expressed his willingness to further it. The plan, however, of inaugurating such a conference in connection with a special peace ship was Mr. Ford's own enterprise. The Woman's Peace Party, as such, and others who urged the conference of neutrals, had nothing whatever to do with the peace ship or with the slogans which became attached to it. But we did greatly admire Mr. Ford's energy and devotion, and several of us regretted very much our inability to take part in the effort; we are much interested in the beginnings of a conference now being formed in The Hague as the result of Mr. Ford's expedition.

"At the present moment there are groups of citizens from the United States, from Sweden, from Norway, from Denmark, and a group of representative citizens is being selected from Holland, we are told, so that in a few weeks there will be meeting at The Hague, we hope, a conference of citizens from at least five neutral nations. This conference is absolutely non-governmental; but we all know how many governmental activities have started unofficially. Many things which our government is now doing for education, for agriculture, for commerce, were begun by a group of people who had nothing whatever to do with the government, but when their volunteer efforts have had a measure of success, the government has taken over the enterprise and perhaps that was the very best way of inaugurating it.

"Whatever the result may be, the Conference of Neutrals proposes to carry on several distinct lines of effort. First, to publish all sorts of programs and suggestions in the interest of peace which have been put forth in various belligerent countries. Associations, such as the 'Union of Democratic Control' in England, have made definite suggestions, and have published a program for permanent peace; but as the war continues they find it increasingly difficult to hold meet-

ings or to spread their propaganda. The same thing is true in Germany; members of the anti-annexation movement are making suggestions for terms of peace, and insist that Germany must hold no conquered territory as a result of the war. But they, too, find it very difficult to publish their programs in the German press.

"It is believed that if there is a neutral spot to which these programs may be sent, in which they may be translated and republished, that it will be much easier to get them into the papers of England and Germany than if they were first issued in those countries. If the suggestions of Englishmen were published in the London papers as issued from a neutral source, they would not so easily be cried down as the unpatriotic act of a group of Englishmen who had dared suggest that England would at present consider any terms of peace. The whole discussion would be taken out of the spirit of controversy so prevalent in a nation at war, and taken into the cooler atmosphere of a neutral country, to a conference in which none could possibly have an axe to grind, and all would try to make an effort to consider the various propositions solely on their merits. That is all I can see which may be hoped for from the conference of neutrals at the present moment—that it may re-establish some sort of international understanding; that the men of Germany may know what Englishmen think and Englishmen may have some way of communicating with like-minded people in Germany, from whom they are cut off; that international public opinion may again have right of way.

"All the newspapers in the belligerent countries are under censorship; patriotic people there are afraid to mention peace, not only because they will be misunderstood if they do so, but because they fear to lessen the enthusiasm for war. In neutral countries, however, they are under no such pressure, and a conference of neutrals might begin to put forward measures approaching peace. No one expects such a conference to end the war. The war must be ended by the accredited representatives of the governments; but a con-

ference of neutrals may make it impossible that the war should end by the secret diplomacy with which it began; through the conference the people at least may know what the governments are considering, and have an opportunity to make tentative propositions to the different governments. I think the governments themselves would welcome such a discussion, if only to test the peace sentiment of their own citizens. At present the editor's sentiment alone finds expression. A thousand people living in one street may be quite ignorant of each others' views, each of them talking war as a patriotic duty. Through this conference of neutral nations, if the war sentiment were universal, it would so appear, but if, on the other hand, there were groups of people expressing peace sentiments they would find one spot where those sentiments would be respected, would be translated and published. Some of us believe that the informal conference resulting from the Ford expedition may be the nucleus of such a conference of neutrals, that it may perform the valuable social function of bringing open democratic discussion into international affairs."

Miss Addams here called on Miss Julia C. Lathrop to conduct the taking of a collection. She announced that last year the Party spent \$6,000, and that \$1,000 had just been offered for the educational work of the Party.

Mrs. William Kent from the platform said: "I have a subscription to make from a man who has always believed in The Woman's Peace Party, and who has believed for years and years in Miss Addams' splendid work, clear vision and wise leadership, and I make for William Kent a subscription of \$5,000." (*Applause.*)

Miss Lathrop announced an anonymous gift of \$2,000. Mrs. Rublee, Mrs. Villard, Mrs. White, Mrs. Forbes and one or two others besides Miss Lathrop, each pledged \$100, and Mrs. Glendower Evans pledged \$50 a month. The Vice-President of the Chicago Branch of The Woman's Peace Party pledged the office rent of \$600 for the coming year. Many smaller sums were pledged and a collection taken.

Miss Addams then presented Miss Marian T. Burritt, as a grand niece of the famous scholar and pacifist, Elihu Burritt, who spoke on constructive peace.

Miss Burritt decried the common newspaper judgment of peace which deems it a poor, craven thing and a peace maker as a person with a jelly-fish type of intelligence—a spineless weakling inured to ease, and a peace-at-any-price person. Peace comes from the same root as “pact,” which means contract. A state of peace is a state of society founded on contract, agreement, law, and not one which is a mere mush of tranquility. This view regards governments as based on the agreement or consent of the governed. Those states are strongest which rest broad-based on the will of the most people. “Pacifist” means peace-maker. One who makes or builds cannot seek his own comfort first. The pacifist proposes no less a task than the reconstruction of society. This is anything but being *passive*. The militarist is the real *passivist*, who surrounds himself with a wall of steel and looks to guns to protect him. He is not a contractor. Peace-at-any-price may well be used as describing the policy of the militarist who pays the most staggering price for his peace through fear. Women have only just begun to realize that there is such a thing as a peace movement which has been going on one hundred years, but has been thwarted in large measure by powerful classes which thrive and fatten upon the war system. Frances Willard said: “It is the mission of women to make the world home-like.” Never will the world be a home until war is abolished.

In presenting Miss Zona Gale, Miss Addams said it was a satisfaction to a Western person to introduce a “real, live author” from the West.

Miss Gale recited a dialogue from one of her own books.

In presenting Miss Janet Richards, Miss Addams spoke of her as “one of your most brilliant fellow towns-women,” who would speak on “Economic Pressure” as a penalty.

Miss Richards felt that a twelfth plank might well be added to the platform which should present a new practical

measure toward constructive peace. This was the use of economic pressure and non-intercourse as deterrents. It would mean that without injuring a man or firing a gun, war would be rendered impossible by means of an international boycott against any would-be belligerent. Imagine the helplessness of a nation against which all others had united to paralyze trade, travel and all communication. First, all transportation, according to international agreement, would cease. Not a ship or train from the countries bound by this agreement would touch the belligerent country. All mail and telegraph, telephone, wireless and cable communication would be tabooed; monetary exchange would be at a standstill. The Congress of Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce, meeting here last week, voted by an overwhelming vote that the most effective means of preventing future wars was the threat of complete non-intercourse. The country which had the temerity to go to war would become a pariah among the nations. It would be a commercial outcast. No government could endure the obloquy because its citizens would not tolerate it. "Do not think your duty done," she said, "when you leave this hall today. Help spread the knowledge of this new effective weapon. Talk about it. Agitate for it. Make people understand it. The new method is more and more being discussed profoundly in our best magazines. Peace will come more quickly when the other half of humanity has been vested with equal citizenship."

In closing, Miss Addams announced that the total amount of pledges and contributions amounted to \$11,323.88.

Frequent applause from the great audience punctuated the speeches throughout the meeting.

Second Session

JANUARY 9—8 P. M.

In opening this informal session which was solely for discussion, Mrs. Mead mentioned the two new books issued by members of The Woman's Peace Party: "Women at The Hague," published by MacMillan (75 cents), and "The Overthrow of the War System" (70 cents, mailed), which may be obtained from Chicago headquarters.

Mrs. Post was called to the chair and conducted the informal discussion on the recommendations made at the preliminary meeting in November, printed copies of which had been circulated.

In the discussion of the meaning of "unprecedented" in the recommendation against "unprecedented increase of armaments." Mrs. Mead explained that it meant something more than the unprecedented increase in the first two years of this administration, which had equalled the amount expended in each of the four years of the two preceding administrations. It meant that nothing essentially greater than the appropriations for last year should be made this year, though the money might be differently expended; for example, there might be more submarines and fewer battleships, or greater economy which would enable us to expand in other directions.

Mrs. Villard said she would have protested had she been at the November meeting against all recommendations about unprecedented expenditures, or about anything that recognized the continuation of war. Our business was to make "a forcible and moral protest against the sinfulness of war."

Mrs. Gardner objected to the use of the word "protest," and thought we ought in every utterance to call attention to

something constructive. She voiced the sentiment of the Washington women in urging that we present to Congress a constructive program, and support certain bills which have been presented by Mr. Crosser and Senator Cummins, and others which are in harmony with our recommendations.

In discussing the statement in the recommendations that "we believe in real defense for real dangers, but are opposed to preposterous preparedness against hypothetic dangers," Mrs. Villard again objected to recognition of any defense that was not moral.

Mrs. Mead, who said she was responsible for the phrase, explained that, under the term, "real defense," she included our two oceans, our Canadian border line, our thirty treaties of a year's delay before hostilities, and such legislative measures as she had outlined in a pamphlet that was distributed to the audience entitled "A Pacifist Program for Preparedness." This program included neutralization and independence of the Philippines, federal control of aliens, a Pan-American, or, if possible, a world guarantee of the principle of the Monroe Doctrine, and methods of conciliation with the Orient, besides a League of Nations which should use non-intercourse as a penalty for breaking pledges.

Mrs. Villard thought that the statement should be phrased differently or it would be misunderstood.

Mrs. Mead spoke in favor of Miss Richard's suggestion that the idea of non-intercourse as a penalty be incorporated in the platform, and said we must thank Mr. Norman Angell for making this idea, which some of us had been urging for years, much more widely understood.

Discussion of the Congressional recommendations followed.

Mrs. Odell recommended that the proposed commission to investigate past expenditure for army and navy appropriations be asked to report in "not less than six months," instead of "three months."

Both Mrs. Odell and Mrs. Speel opposed the view that adequate data was in the Congressional Record, and said that

the investigation that was desired was something much more profound and comprehensive than had yet been made.

Mrs. Mackaye felt that the investigation should be made as recommended and the hearings be made public, as were those of the Industrial Relations Committee. She discussed the fact that hundreds of munition factories equipped with costly machinery will have to be used in some way when the war ends, and that there is consequent great temptation to influence Congress to vote more money for munitions.

In discussing the recommendation for the federal control of aliens, Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett said she had had much to do with immigrants, and believed that there is nothing that will solve so many problems in the States as the federal control of aliens.

Mrs. Post took the floor and upon request she and Mrs. Andrews discussed the results and benefits that might come from the Pan-American Scientific Congress just brought to a close in Washington. Mrs. Post said that we had been making history in the last two weeks. As Mrs. Barrett, in commenting on the Congress, had pointed out, there had been some crudities, and some things had been done that made us appear selfish. There had been too strong emphasis on the defense value of Pan-American association. Nevertheless, history shows that all small bodies have first coalesced with the idea of defense uppermost. Towns first had walls; later, sewers and common conveniences and interests bound them together, and walls were the smallest element in creating unity. It is not strange that in our coming together for scientific and cultural purposes some defense ideas will also work in. If we find on consulting with members of Congress that it is possible to push forward the steps toward a greater Pan-Americanism, we need not be deterred from doing so by the fact that such co-operation will probably have to have some interlocking with defense plans.

Mrs. Andrews, who had attended the Pan-American Congress and had made an address on education before one section, said that we ought to read carefully the final reso-

lutions passed at the Congress. The spirit of the Congress was perfectly ideal, and the resolutions constructive. She was not satisfied with the criticisms recently voiced against the Congress, and said: "It will give the greatest impetus to internationalism of anything that has happened in this country." The date of this Congress and all the preliminary arrangements were made before the war broke out, so that no one can say that the United States took advantage of the present situation to plan to work against European interests. Mrs. Andrews thought that after this scientific Congress it was not practicable to have a Pan-American political Congress called at once.

Third Session

JANUARY 10—10.15 A. M.

Miss Addams in the chair.

The National Secretary, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, read her annual report, which will be found on page 41 of this Year Book.

The National Treasurer, Miss Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, read her annual report, which will be found on page 51.

The Executive Secretary, Mrs. William I. Thomas, read her annual report, and also presented a summary of the Headquarters' activities during the year just passed. They will be found on pages 46 and 49.

In introducing Mrs. Thomas, Miss Addams explained that she had received the "magnificent salary" of \$125 a month, which was really of the nature of an expense account, because out of it she had paid her expenses to The Hague and to California, up and down the coast and to Washington.

Mrs. Elizabeth Glendower Evans, the first National Organizer of the Party, read a report which will be found on page 54, and gave a report from the Emergency Finance Committee, which gave the total amount received as \$5,664.45.

Mention was made of large gifts of leaflets from the World Peace Foundation, The Carnegie Foundation, and more or less from the American Peace Society; these had been largely distributed all over the country to women's clubs, suffrage organizations, etc. Miss Addams spoke of the long hours of work and of the tons of literature sent out by Miss Abeel from the Headquarters, and of the telegrams sent by her for Mrs. Ford, which went to mutual benefit societies, granges, members of the W. C. T. U., etc. She said: "About 2,000 more telegrams came in to President Wilson than re-

quests sent out, and, of course, all the telegrams that came in were paid for by the senders."

Mrs. Schutze reported for the Art Committee. She stated that owing to the contribution from the Carnegie Foundation of \$5,000 to aid in the production of "The Trojan Women," The Little Theatre Company in Chicago gave it in many of the western states for four months to a large number of people, especially in colleges and universities. Considerable work had been done in smaller ways, for example, publication of lists of peace plays and readers; correspondence with painters, dramatists and musicians. And in Washington, under the initiative of Mrs. Hemmick, beautiful peace tableaux had been given, and money had been raised for the peace cause. In connection with the presentation of the "War Brides" in Washington, short peace addresses had been arranged.

Mrs. Lewis reported on a most successful "Peace Shop," run in Philadelphia by voluntary workers. The posters in its windows always brought a crowd of men around their doors, and the newspapers were forced to take notice.

The following persons were appointed on the Resolutions Committee: Mrs. Carey of Baltimore, Miss Abeel of Chicago, and Miss Richards of Washington. Those appointed as a committee on The Congressional Program were Mrs. Mead, Mrs. Benedict and Mrs. Odell.

After discussion it was voted that only delegates could present resolutions to the Resolutions Committee.

Voted to substitute "economic pressure and non-intercourse" for "international police" in the ninth plank of the Party's platform adopted last year.

The Philippines problem was discussed but no action was taken.

Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes, chairman of the Massachusetts Branch, gave a report of work done by the Congressional district committees; by Cosmopolitan, Current Literature, Education, Finance, Study and Speakers' committees and sub-committees, co-operating with schools. Anti-war knitting

circles met informally in parlors in which, while all worked for the suffering, they listened to the reading of war and peace literature. She said the suffrage plank had kept many from joining the Party and the chief protest had come from good suffragists.

Brief reports were given by other state chairmen, including Miss Laura White of Kentucky, Mrs. Carey of Maryland, and a member who represented Mrs. Bradford, state chairman of Colorado. This member, wife of a Congressman, reported that the result of literature sent from Chicago headquarters was said by him to be very apparent; replies were pouring in on him "from all sorts of organizations" against "preparedness."

Mrs. Benedict reported that the New York City Branch had about 1,500 members. It had held a forum on "American Future Foreign Policy" at ten afternoon and six evening meetings. It had held two great mass meetings, at one of which 208 persons joined their organization. Since the preliminary meeting in November, about 600 had joined.

Miss Richards reported in place of Mrs. Hemmick, chairman of the Washington Branch, the first local branch ever organized and which was an outcome of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's efforts. From the initial steps taken by this local group, came the suggestion for a national organization, and the offer of hospitality if Miss Addams would take the lead and call a convention in Washington. The local Branch has 600 members, and has raised over \$2,000 by dramatic entertainments and other means.

Mrs. Walter reported that the Chicago Branch had 300 members and held fortnightly meetings.

Miss Anne Martin reported the beginning of work in Nevada as a result of an address by Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

Mrs. Wm. I. Hull reported that in Pennsylvania daily meetings of an hour's duration were held for a week after Christmas by religious organizations, the addresses being followed by open discussion. In addition to the Peace Shop,

they had arranged a peace forum for a week, and had advertised it by a "sandwich" man and other methods. Publicity had been secured from papers by getting patrons of department stores to ask the proprietors to influence the editors in whose sheets they advertised to publish peace news.

Miss Zona Gale spoke for Wisconsin.

Fourth Session

JANUARY 10—2 P. M.

At the afternoon session the report of the committee on Congressional Program was discussed at length and somewhat modified. It was finally passed in the following form:

CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM OF THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY

It was voted that The Woman's Peace Party shall urge upon Congress:

1. That no increased appropriations for war preparation be voted during the present session.
2. That a joint committee be appointed to conduct thorough investigations, with public hearings, and report within the next six months upon the following matters:
 - a. The condition of our military and naval defenses with special reference to the expenditure of past appropriations.
 - b. The probability of aggressive action by other nations against the United States by reason of antagonism with respect to race, trade, national expansion, property-holding in foreign lands, and other causes of war.
 - c. The possibility of lessening by legislative or diplomatic action the source of friction between this country and other nations.
3. That action be taken to secure by our government the immediate calling of a Conference of Neutral Nations in the interests of a just and early peace.
4. That action be taken to provide for the elimination of all private profit from the manufacture of armament.
5. That action be taken to bring about the creation of a joint commission of experts representing Japan, China and the United States, to study the complex and important questions at issue between the Orient and the United States, and to make recommendations to the various governments involved.

6. The passage of the law advocated by the American Bar Association giving Federal control over aliens, in order to prevent local conditions in the several states from having undue influence in causing friction with other countries.

7. That action be taken to convene the Third Hague Conference at the earliest possible moment. That all voting delegates from the United States to the Hague Conference shall be civilians who represent various important elements in the country, including, if possible, the business, educational and labor interests, and women; and that the delegates from the United States be instructed to advocate world organization and a peaceful settlement of all international difficulties.

In connection with Article 4, there was a long discussion on specific endorsement of the Crosser bill and Cummins bill now before Congress.

Mrs. Mead, supported by Mrs. Hull, protested against including women among the classes from whom delegates should be sent to the Third Hague Conference. The Hague Conferences were composed of delegates sent by governments and, though it might be possible, she said to send women to the Fourth Hague Conference, it would be impossible to get them nominated for the next one. No American woman had yet been a governor, congressman or ambassador, and only a small proportion yet had the vote.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED.

The chairman of the Resolutions Committee recommended a resolution proposed by Mrs. Colby. After discussion and modification this was accepted as follows:

1. *Resolved*: That the Woman's Peace Party, which has as its ideal, permanent peace and justice through world organization, advocates, as an important and timely move in this direction, that the Congress of the United States take immediate action towards the united co-operation of the twenty-one republics of America for the consideration of all questions relating to the interests of those Republics.

The following resolution was moved by Miss Janet Richards:

2. *Resolved*: That this First Annual Convention of the Woman's Peace Party instruct its Corresponding Secretary to send a letter of greeting and appreciation for the part she took in the inception of this organization, to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence of London, England.

A resolution was presented by Mrs. Walther and much modified as follows:

3. *Resolved*: that inasmuch as the cosmopolitan population of the United States is a great source of strength in the interests of peace, we urge so far as practicable that the Woman's Peace Party co-operate in its peace propaganda with all our foreign-born citizens.

A resolution was presented by Miss Anne H. Martin and was much amended by Miss Laura Clay and passed as follows:

4. *Resolved*: That The Woman's Peace Party endorses effective suffrage legislation in the Sixty-fourth Congress, as a vital step toward constructive peace.

The following resolution was presented by Mrs. Andrews upon request:

Resolved: That we regard with deep interest the meeting of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, convoked by the Government of the United States, and we recognize that the purpose of this Congress to bring into close and intimate contact the leaders of scientific thought and of public opinion in the American Republics is in harmony with the broader idea of international co-operation. We believe that the results of this Congress will not only lay the foundations for more friendly and substantial co-operation on the western continent, but will give an impetus to the program of international organization outlined in our platform.

We regard the holding of the Fifth Pan-American Conference of the American States as exceedingly important for effecting the political alliance of the American nations. We express the wish that this be held as soon as possible.

The following resolutions presented by Mrs. Villard and others were read by the chairman of the committee with the statement, "We present these without any recommendation. . . We were really not in a position to say whether we recommended them or not."

Resolved: That we, the members of the Woman's Peace Party, assembled at our first annual convention in Washington, desire to put ourselves on record as unalterably opposed to war or preparations for war as a means for settling disputes between nations. To this end we shall, in season and out of season, combat the cruel military system with the weapons of the mind

and spirit which are invincible, and upon which we unhesitatingly place our reliance.

Resolved: That as up to this time the United States has stood for ideals of liberty and democracy for which the nations of Europe have long been striving, a change of policy involving the methods of force which we have heretofore denounced as threatening the peace of the whole world, would rob us of our great and masterful opportunity to aid stricken Europe to regain its normal condition.

Whereas: The duty of conserving the lives that they bring into the world has ever rested upon women, it is for them to declare in no uncertain language that they refuse to accede to the demand now made upon them by men to sanction the destruction of human life under the misleading name of patriotism, and,

Whereas: Still further preparedness for war must necessarily result in untold misery for this generation and for generations yet to come—most of all in our cherished ideals of human brotherhood, therefore,

Resolved: That we register our protest against all compromise with the war spirit under any guise whatever.

These resolutions elicited prolonged discussion; it was objected that the substance was already in the Preamble and that, as interpreted by their author, they committed the Party to a position which many did not hold. They were finally passed with the understanding that they were to be "taken as written" without interpretation.

Fifth Session

JANUARY 10—8 P. M.

Miss Addams in the Chair.

Few votes were taken, and the time was devoted to informal reports and discussion on methods of work.

Miss Burritt reported that seventy clubs in New York State had peace committees which are practically doing the work of the Woman's Peace Party throughout the state. Quantities of literature were distributed and peace talks at the state convention were given every day.

Mrs. Mead reported that a clipping bureau had been started in Massachusetts and a list of members had pledged themselves to send in rotation to the Congressman of the state and to other officials significant, well chosen newspaper clippings.

Miss Wambaugh presented clever posters used in Massachusetts to assist the state work.

Popular leaflets, lantern slides, pageants, plays and prizes were discussed.

It was voted to expend \$100 as a prize for lantern slides. It was emphasized that the methods that would be most effective now are inexpensive, pungent presentations of significant facts and figures which need to be given a misinformed public. Most of the higher forms of art produce intangible results and would require long preparation and expense.

Miss Addams reported her hour's interview with Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey, and with President Wilson, and said that, though the press had treated in a very light-minded way the delegates' visits to the different governments, the officials themselves had shown great seriousness and the utmost respect.

Miss Addams explained the plan to hold a Conference of Women when the Conference of the belligerent nations is held at the end of the war. The commission in Vienna at the end of the Napoleonic wars sat for nine months. The project is to have committees of five women each from the nations that were represented at the Hague Conference of last April go to the place of meeting, as soon as the time for it is announced, and arrange a Conference of Women to be held on the fifth week of the Conference of the Nations. These committees are each to select previously twenty delegates and ten alternates who shall go from their respective countries to attend this Conference. She referred to the unofficial conferences arranged largely by William T. Stead, which had sat during the official Hague Conference, "and had much to do with forming public opinion." Other organizations are planning to hold simultaneous conferences wherever the Conference of Nations is held. The Woman's Conference, therefore, will by no means be unique.

Miss Addams hoped next April to attend the International Committee of Women in Amsterdam. It will be no easy matter for the women from the belligerent countries to reach there, but they are eager to express themselves and have organized now even in Greece and Bulgaria. Miss Addams and Mrs. Andrews were the first two of the American committee of five, and the others, appointed later, are Prof. Emily G. Balch, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead and Mrs. Florence Kelley.

It was voted that the executive board should voice the thanks of the Woman's Peace Party to Mrs. Ford for her gift of \$10,000 to send telegraphic requests all over the country for telegrams to be sent President Wilson.

Thanks were given the Executive Board and to the Washington hostesses who had twice entertained the delegates, doing work which Miss Addams said was "expensive and back-breaking."

Annual Report of the National Secretary

The Woman's Peace Party was launched with eighty-six charter members on January 10, 1915, in the New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

It was the product of a two days' Conference to which invitations were issued by Miss Jane Addams and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt after a series of meetings in different cities addressed by the two eloquent orators, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence of England and Madam Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary. As a result of their appeals various groups of women had been organized who had hitherto known little of the peace movement.

The Washington Peace Association, organized under the presidency of Mrs. Hemmick, acted as hostess for the Conference. By its hospitality and executive ability it enabled the delegates to confer in comfort, to receive gracious social attentions, and to hold a great and memorable mass meeting on Sunday afternoon in the ball room of the New Willard Hotel. Three thousand were present and hundreds were turned away. At this mass meeting Mrs. Catt presided and addresses were made by Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, Madam Schwimmer, Miss Addams, Miss Janet E. Richards, Mrs. Blatch and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. The ringing preamble to the platform adopted by the Conference was read by its author, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer.

For a day and a half the business sessions were conducted by the skilled parliamentarian, Miss Janet E. Richards, one of the leading propagandists of the Woman's Peace movement in Washington. The platform committee consisted of Mrs. Catt, Miss Addams, Mrs. Louis F. Post, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer and Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead.

The platform of eleven planks briefly covered the main features of a much fuller statement prepared by the platform committee entitled, "Program for a Constructive Peace."

Those enrolled as Charter Members represented twenty-eight different organizations, of which nineteen were national in scope. Ten of these were peace organizations; three were suffrage associations; the remainder were educational, philanthropic, reform and labor organizations. As it proved, nearly every delegate chanced to

be a suffragist, but no attempt had been made to invite a body of suffragists as such.

At the closing session, Mrs. Catt reported from the committee on organization and the report was adopted and the elections conducted accordingly. Miss Addams, with great reluctance, yielded to the unanimous demand that she accept the national chairmanship. Everyone present realized the sacrifice of other and important work that this involved and the spirit of devotion with which the heavy burden was accepted. In view of the many handicaps in sight and the slight funds available, all present felt a sense of great relief at her acceptance.

The other officers elected were Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Mrs. Henry Villard, Mrs. Louis F. Post, and Mrs. John Jay White, as vice-chairmen and members of the executive board.

Mrs. Glendower Evans, impressed with the imperative need of raising funds for the immediate future, made an appeal which resulted in subscriptions being taken on the spot and she was thereupon appointed Chairman of the Finance Committee. Mrs. R. M. La Follette, Mrs. Wm. Kent, Miss Janet E. Richards, Miss Julia C. Lathrop and Mrs. Juliet B. Rublee agreed later to serve on the committee, Mrs. Rublee acting as treasurer.

The Conference dissolved at midnight and leaders who had had good reason to be dubious about the result of their brave venture felt the relief and inspiration that comes from harmony and confidence and the creation of what seemed destined to fill a real need. Those who questioned why women should form a new society and not unite with men and women in the old organizations were shown that women held very few offices in the old societies and had some fresh methods of their own which they wanted to employ. Moreover, as women, they felt that they had a special work to perform in the interest of their suffering sisters beyond sea and in influencing great organized bodies of women whom the older societies have not yet reached. While abhorring needless duplication of machinery, it seemed to them that this organization need not duplicate any other but might reach with new methods into new fields, not detracting from, but rather adding to, the influence of the older societies with which it sympathizes and is glad to co-operate.

Headquarters of the Woman's Peace Party were established at once at 116 South Michigan Ave., Chicago. Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead was appointed National Secretary and Mrs. Wm. I. Thomas was installed as Executive Secretary. Miss Sophonisba P. Breckinridge was appointed Treasurer. Mrs. Mead and Miss Breckinridge were *Ex-Officio* on the Executive Board.

Six sessions have been held by the executive board. At the first,

Mrs. Glendower Evans of Boston was appointed national organizer, but she felt it necessary to resign later.

In February, 1914, a national Emergency Conference was held in Chicago in which leading members of the Woman's Peace Party joined with other organizations. Three of its five women members on its executive committee of fifteen were members of the Woman's Peace Party, including Miss Addams, who was chairman of the Conference. This Conference was accompanied by several large mass meetings at which some of the members of the Party spoke. It brought into the peace movement several organizations that had hitherto held aloof. Like the Woman's Peace Party, this Conference made the first plank of its platform an appeal to our government to call a conference of neutral nations.

The most notable paper read at the Conference was a long one entitled, "Mediation Without Armistice," written by Miss Julia Grace Wales, a member of the Wisconsin Peace Society. This has since been translated into different languages and some 8,000 copies were subsequently sold in Europe.

An invitation came at this time from a conference of Dutch, Belgian, British and German women at Amsterdam for an International Congress of Women to be held at The Hague April 28 to May 1. Miss Addams was asked to be chairman and consented, and at once began efforts to send over as large a delegation as possible.

One member of the Woman's Peace Party, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, was the only representative from America who met with the thirty members of the International Confidential Committee which became the "Central Organization for a Durable Peace." This convened at The Hague early in April and assembled eminent pacifists from twelve different countries who, after careful consultation, issued a "Minimum Program" for durable peace. Mrs. Andrews remained at The Hague and was of great service in perfecting the program for the International Congress of Women.

The Congress was attended by forty-seven women from the United States as delegates or individual members, of whom twenty-two were members of the Woman's Peace Party and three of them, Miss Addams, Mrs. Post, and Miss Breckinridge were members of the executive board. The results of this remarkable Congress were threefold;

First, those who assumed that such a gathering was "base and silly" and who anticipated that it would break up in disorder, saw women from the belligerent and neutral countries conduct their proceedings with solemnity, efficiency and with scrupulous courtesy, although sometimes 2,000 persons were in attendance and the use of three or four languages added to the difficulties. This achieve-

ment in itself was notable in the painful circumstances in which all met. Prof. Balch of Wellesley College, who was a delegate, wrote: "What stands out most strongly among all my impressions of those thrilling and strained days at The Hague is the sense of the wonder of the beautiful spirit of the brave, self-controlled women who dared ridicule and every sort of difficulty to express a passionate human sympathy, not inconsistent with patriotism but transcending it."

Second, after careful deliberation for four days, important resolutions and recommendations were issued and sent to every country.

Third, on the urgent appeal of one of our two honorary members, Madam Schimmer, the Congress decided to send delegates to visit the chancelleries of Europe to present their resolutions and to inquire whether the time had not come to begin some sort of negotiations, Miss Addams and Miss Balch were the American delegates who went with others on pilgrimages to fourteen countries, both neutral and belligerent. They held forty-three private conferences with high officials, going more than once to several countries. What at first seemed might prove fruitless resulted in the acquisition and transmission of valuable information. The visits were taken seriously and were welcomed. In the two books just issued by the members of the Woman's Peace Party will be found much valuable information regarding the achievement of the Congress and the pilgrimages.

During the year, both the national and the executive secretaries have made numerous addresses in California and the Middle West, aiding and encouraging as far as possible the growing body of workers in the Woman's Peace Party, who are zealously trying to overcome wide-spread misapprehension both as to our methods and our cause.

On November 19 and 20, a preliminary conference was held at the McAlpin Hotel, New York, to consider a draft of a constitution to be presented at the annual meeting and to discuss future policies. Miss Addams presided and much work was accomplished. The discussion gave evidence of a harmonious spirit and of staunch opposition to the militaristic policy that like a poisonous gas from the trenches, is paralyzing all spiritual progress to-day. The recommendations were printed and sent with the proposed constitution and other matter to all who were entitled to them or asked for them. Three papers on preparedness were read at the conference by Mrs. Spencer, Mrs. Post and Mrs. Mead.

Our organization begins its second year at a time when American ideals are in jeopardy and democracy is in peril. Militarism and commercialism are in the saddle as probably never before in our history. We are non-voters upholding an unpopular cause at a time when the policy of our country may decide the policy of the world

for generations to come. The situation is even more solemn than it was a year ago ere the full flood of military madness had been loosed. We must study night and day how to cope with the wild fear and folly around us. But let us not despair and deem our efforts futile. Whether men heed or not, we must speak the truth as it has been given us to see it if we would wash our hands from the blood of those who will some day perish in a world war if our people learn not the lessons of this present war. May God give us wisdom, hope and courage for our task.

Respectfully submitted,

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Annual Report of the Executive Secretary

Madam Chairman, and Members of the Woman's Peace Party:

The National Headquarters of the Women's Peace Party were opened in Chicago on January 19th, 1915.

During the week following the organization meeting, which took place in Washington on January 10th and 11th, Miss Addams, taking a leaf out of the book of the militarists, formed a "coalition" with the Chicago Branches of the American Peace Society and of the Church Peace Union. By combining the resources of these three organizations, we were able to secure a very desirable office suite on the fifth floor of the Lake View Building, 116 South Michigan Avenue. Besides the material advantages of such a union your Secretary has benefited greatly by the splendid co-operation she has had from the Secretaries of these two organizations, Mr. Louis P. Lochner and Mr. Alfred W. Kliefoth.

By this arrangement, also, the organized Peace forces in Chicago were able to occupy headquarters together. After the installment of the office furniture the first work undertaken by your National Headquarters was the reprinting in its completed form of the Platform and statement adopted at the meeting in Washington. Next in order came the appointment of State Chairmen. A letter was sent to some prominent woman, known to be identified with peace, in every state in the Union, inviting her to serve as Chairman for the Woman's Peace Party.

The responses were somewhat discouraging, and as a result of this correspondence we succeeded in securing only twenty-eight women who could accept this official position.

Since then a few additions have been made to the list of State Chairmen and a number have resigned.

The principal activity of the National Office has been the printing and distributing of literature. Besides our Platform and statement of policy, the most widely distributed publications have been a "Letter by Miss Emily Hobhouse" and a "Group of Letters From Women of the Warring Nations." We have re-printed and distributed also the addresses made at the organization meeting in Washington and the resolutions adopted at the International Congress of Women at The Hague, with a short history of this Congress.

We have also re-printed a series of five articles on "Preparedness." by Mr. Oswald Villard, originally published in the New York Evening Post. One of our most popular publications has been "A Pacifist Program for Preparedness," by Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead. The total for literature distributed through the National Office is 237,530 pamphlets and folders.

Perhaps our most important undertaking was the promotion of a production of Euripides' "Trojan Women," given by the Little Theater Company of Chicago. Details of this are included in the Treasurer's Report.

In February of 1915, the Woman's Peace Party united with the other peace forces in Chicago in calling a convention of the Emergency Peace Federation in connection with which 20,000 invitations were sent throughout the country.

In April, the official Call of America to the International Congress of Women at The Hague was sent through the National Office of the Woman's Peace Party. The results of this are published in the pamphlet referred to above.

During the appearance at the Majestic Theatre in Chicago of Madame Nazimova in "War Brides" permission was granted by the management for curtain speeches after each performance. Representative club women and peace workers appeared upon the stage and made an appeal to the large audiences for their support of a program for permanent peace. Four thousand Platforms were distributed in the lobby in this connection.

The first week in September was devoted to a campaign urging a Conference of Neutrals. Most of this was due to the activity of the Chicago Peace Society and was strengthened materially by the co-operation of Dr. David Starr Jordan. The office assisted in sending out over 3,000 letters, enclosing text of petition to President Wilson.

In November, the National Office issued invitations for the preliminary meeting to be held in New York City, November 19th and 20th, with a view to formulating a policy for the Woman's Peace Party to be presented at its Annual Meeting in Washington in January.

Immediately following the New York meeting, Mrs. Ford gave \$10,000 to the Woman's Peace Party for the purpose of sending telegrams from all over the country to President Wilson, urging that an official Conference of Neutral Nations be called at once. This work was carried on through the office of the New York Branch.

The closing activity of the year was the issuing of eight hundred invitations and follow-up calls to the First Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., January 8th, 9th and 10th.

Our first year of existence has not been without adventure. It

was only natural that somebody should want to take advantage of such reliable names as those on our literature.

In a rich little city in one of the southern states a woman operated a confidence game in the name of the Woman's Peace Party and succeeded in getting a great deal of advertisement and endorsement from prominent people there. She then absconded with several hundred dollars, leaving the Woman's Peace Party in very bad odor. She incorporated in her literature, not the National Platform, but the Platform which had been issued by the Massachusetts Branch of the Woman's Peace Party. I think perhaps this is the first time the Massachusetts people have heard that a confidence game was operated in the South in connection with their propaganda material. A great many perfectly artificial but very plausible names were given. The name of a Mrs. James Forbes Robertson which, of course, suggested Miss Beatrice Forbes Robertson. The thing was very cleverly done. Fortunately we were able to clear ourselves, and the press of Anniston, Alabama, the town in which this incident occurred, entirely vindicated the Woman's Peace Party in connection with it. They were very generous and very courteous to us.

At the close of the organization meeting in Washington in 1915 the membership of the Woman's Peace Party consisted of eighty-six Charter Members. Today we have five hundred and twelve Members-at-large and one hundred and sixty-five Group Memberships, of which thirty-three are Local Branches. . .

In February, 1915, the Executive Council decided to send your Executive Secretary out for organization work. She has held meetings in Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oregon, California, Indiana, Kentucky and Illinois, addressing approximately 107 audiences during the period between February and December, 1915. Many of these audiences were small neighborhood clubs and organizations, but a large number of them were open meetings attended by both men and women, and several times an opportunity was given to address the entire body of students of our large universities.

The response everywhere has been most gratifying, and it is the belief of your Secretary that there is in America today enough good, sound peace sentiment, not only to resist the preparedness wave which is sweeping over this country, but also to demand that our government take the initial steps in calling a conference of neutral nations. The problem confronting our own and all peace societies in this country today is how we can best reach and organize this sentiment.

Respectfully submitted,

HARRIET P. THOMAS.

Summary of Headquarters' Office Activities 1915

February 27th and 29th. Issued *Call* to Emergency Peace Federation—joint undertaking of Woman's Peace Party and Chicago Peace Society. These went out broadcast in quantities—20,000 in all.

On March 30th—Letters were sent out to State Chairmen in regard to Congressional Chairmen and their work.

At the same time, letters were sent to State Chairmen to send out to Federated Clubs in states where there were no chairmen. About 800, with literature, were sent on in this way.

Later in March letters were sent to the Presidents of Women's Clubs by the Propaganda Committee, enclosing statement, platform, Trojan Women and advertisement of the pin. About 1500 were mailed.

The Trojan Women, as produced at the Blackstone by the Little Theater Company, was the next big undertaking of the office. The total receipts, \$1014.10; expenditures, \$592.97; net receipts, \$441.13.

In April the Official Call to the International Congress of Women at The Hague was sent out. About 2,000 individuals and organizations received this Call.

Immediately upon the return of the delegates to this country, Madame Nazimova was playing in "War Brides" at the Majestic Theatre in Chicago. This offered a splendid opportunity for propaganda, and Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Sippy, Miss Abbott, Miss Breckinridge and others made a short curtain speech after the play and we distributed over 4,000 Platforms in the lobby.

Miss Addams' return to Chicago was such a happy occasion that a big citizens' welcome was planned. The notices were sent out through the joint work of the offices at Headquarters and 1500 letters were sent. The response was hearty and the Auditorium was filled even in the top galleries.

An informal report of the I. C. W. was mailed to all members of the Woman's Peace Party.

The first week in September was devoted to a campaign urging a Conference of Neutrals. Most of this was the activity of the Chicago Peace Society and was strengthened materially by the co-

operation of Dr. David Starr Jordan. The office assisted in sending out over 3,000 letters, enclosing text of petition to President Wilson.

When the foreign delegates from the I. C. W. P. P. came to Chicago, it seemed fitting to give them a public hearing and a second mass meeting was undertaken. About the same number of notices were sent out, but the response was not quite so cordial, although the main floor was filled with people who wanted to know what the Northern Delegation of the I. C. W. P. P. had accomplished. Receipts from sale of boxes amounted to \$435.00. The collection received at that meeting was \$302.04, which was sent to the I. C. W. P. P.

November 8th brought a renewed appeal to the public for bringing about a Conference of Neutrals. The plan was to hold simultaneous mass meetings all over the country, and the material enclosed in the letters gave full directions as to speeches, press notices and telegrams to be sent to the President. One thousand to twelve hundred telegrams were sent to Washington. In connection with this movement two mass meetings were held in Chicago. One a noon meeting at the Fine Arts Theater, where Professor Zeublin, Madame Aino Malmberg, Madame Schwimmer and Mr. Stit Wilson spoke. The second meeting was held at the University Congregational Church, where Dr. Charles Scribner Ames, Mrs. William I. Thomas and Mr. Louis P. Lochner spoke.

Notices of the Preliminary annual meeting, held in New York November 19th and 20th, were sent to all members of the Woman's Peace Party.

A visit from Mrs. Snowden of England brought a response from Chicago people and a meeting was held in the Woman's Club. Over one thousand invitations were sent out.

Eight hundred invitations and follow-up meetings were mailed before the First Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., January 8th, 9th and 10th.

Annual Report of the National Treasurer

The Treasurer of the Woman's Peace Party begs leave to submit the following report:

FIRST REPORT, dealing with receipts and expenditures of the Woman's Peace Party for the period between January 1 and December 31, 1915. Your Treasurer has in her possession a certificate issued by Arthur Young & Company, certified public accountants, to the correctness of these figures:

RECEIPTS

Contributions and Memberships	\$8,168.47	
Literature sold	167.42	
Peace Pins sold	65.83	
Waste Paper sold	2.93	\$8,404.65

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	\$3,823.00	
Printing and Stationery	2,008.30	
Office supplies	153.56	
Office furniture	230.20	
Rent, light, telephone and telegrams	780.81	
Miscellaneous	761.11	
Literature	104.75	
Peace Pins	149.50	
Clippings	55.00	
Typewriter supplies	46.50	
Freight	11.40	
Pictures	13.50	
Holiday gratuities	14.00	
Miscellaneous refunds	188.25	8,339.88

Balance December 31, 1915 \$ 64.77

SECOND. A statement with reference to the expenditures of \$10,000 given by Mrs. Ford for the special purpose of sending telegrams to the President with reference to the calling of a Neutral Congress; \$7,000 of these \$10,000 were handled by a Committee in

New York, to whom Mrs. Ford paid the money. The sum of \$3,000 was placed in the care of your Treasurer. The expenditures were as follows:

NEW YORK BRANCH	\$7,000.00	
EXPENDITURES		
Clerical services	\$ 45.40	
To assistant and expenses	200.00	
To expenses: Miss Doty		
Mrs. Creighton		
Miss Carpenter		
Mrs. Benedict		
Grace Potter		
Mrs. Erwin		
Miss Watson	124.00	
Messenger, paper, etc.	3.80	
Telephone	18.00	
N. Y. Telephone Company—extra wire	55.90	
Telegrams	5502.88	
Book Y. W. C. A.50	\$5,950.48
<hr/>		
Balance New York Branch	\$1,049.52	
WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY (Chicago)	\$3,000.00	
EXPENDITURES		
Telegrams	\$ 778.82	
Traveling expenses	85.00	863.82
<hr/>		
Balance Woman's Peace Party	\$2,136.18	
Balance New York Branch	\$1,049.52	
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Total balance	\$3,185.70	

THIRD. In April of 1915, the Carnegie Peace Foundation gave to Miss Addams \$5,000 towards a guarantee fund for the Little Theatre Company in its *Trojan Women* enterprise. The following is a statement of the receipts and expenditures of that company so far as they were known to Miss Addams and to your Treasurer:

TROJAN WOMEN FUND	\$5,000.00	
RECEIPTS		
Forty-two performances	\$9,937.76	
Books and photographs	148.26	
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Total receipts	\$10,086.02	

EXPENDITURES

Fifteen weeks, at \$1233.27 weekly	\$18,499.05
Further expenses (approximately)	2,600.00
	<hr/>
Total expenditures	\$21,099.05
 Total receipts	 10,086.02
	<hr/>
Expenditures above receipts (maximum) ..	\$11,013.03
 Trojan Women Fund	 5,000.00
	<hr/>
Balance expenditures	\$ 6,013.00
	<hr/>

Respectfully submitted,

SOPHONISBA P. BECKINRIDGE,

February 16, 1916

Treasurer.

Report of National Organizer

Last February, at Miss Addams' urgent request, I reluctantly consented to assume the role of National Organizer, my reluctance being due not to the lack of will-power, but to the knowledge that I did not possess the abilities required for a successful discharge of the duties of the office. It was later decided that I should confine my efforts to New England and the Middle States.

I have been in frequent touch with the chairmen of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Connecticut, and I have made one or more trips into each of these states. In Connecticut several active groups were developed by the State Chairman. In New Hampshire and Vermont the Federations of Women's Clubs were addressed, the one by Mrs. Mead, and the other by myself, and both of them endorsed the movement and, I think, joined as groups. Several other bodies which I addressed in Vermont did the same, but I think no new Peace Groups were formed in either state. The chairmen of these two states have since resigned. I have been asked by the Executive Secretary to find successors for them but have not been able to do so. The organization was never more than nominal in either of these states, and I do not believe that under present conditions it will be possible to develop a live movement, except under a really active State Chairmanship.

I never got into Maine, and the Chairman has since resigned. So far as I can learn, no organization was ever effected in that state.

I assisted in the organization of the State Branch in Rhode Island, which has been active to some extent, and in the organization of a New York City Branch which has been very much alive.

Last spring I made a trip up-state in New York, visiting Buffalo and Rochester. In the first city Mrs. Williams, an active peace worker, decided that it was inadvisable to start a new Peace Organization, and in Rochester everyone was too busy working for suffrage to take up any other interest.

In February and March, I made several trips to New Jersey, but everyone was engrossed with suffrage and the State Chairman decided that it was unwise to attempt to launch an organization even to the extent of calling a public meeting.

I went to Philadelphia and conferred with a number of Peace

Leaders. They shortly after created an organization without assistance from me.

The chief service which I performed was to act as a distributing agency for literature, for which there was a large demand during the first few months after the formation of the Party. The demand has ceased entirely this autumn. This record of my lack of accomplishments confirms my belief that I am not the person to act as an organizer, and I herewith hand in my formal resignation from the office which I should never have accepted.

ELIZABETH G. EVANS.

12 Otis Place, Boston.
December 31, 1915.

CONDENSED REPORT OF THE EMERGENCY FINANCE COMMITTEE

The Treasurer of the Committee, Mrs. Rublee, paid over to the Chicago office, the sum of \$1,923.45, and a further sum of \$3,741.00 was paid at intervals to the Chicago office without passing through the books of the Treasurer of the Finance Committee, making a total of \$5,664.45 collected by the Finance Committee up to January 8, 1916.

Of this, one gift of \$1,000 was anonymous, and \$625 was contributed by men; \$1,000 was given by "Massachusetts," in addition to gifts from individuals of that state. One Philadelphia member contributed \$500.

Jan. 13, 1916

ELIZABETH G. EVANS.

Recommendations

*Made at the Preliminary Meeting of Delegates, at New York,
November 20, 1915*

We protest against unprecedented expenditure for war preparations at this session of Congress. We are moved to make this protest by the following considerations:

1. The moment of panic is a bad time to decide any matter, and whatever danger of attack to America, none could be anticipated at the present time when all her hypothetical enemies are exhausting their resources elsewhere.

2. When the results of this war are studied they will probably greatly modify the type of defence which will be employed in the future—submarines *vs.* dreadnaughts, etc. At this moment the expenditure of enormous sums of money upon dreadnaughts of the old-fashioned type is, to say the least, a premature decision.

3. It is hoped by many people in Europe and America that one result of this war may be the proportionate reduction of armaments. At this moment to have America so markedly increasing her "defences" would make it impossible for her to enter such a plan with clean hands. By taking action now she assumes that any such plan is impracticable.

4. There is no doubt that if the United States yields to panic at this moment and largely increases her army and navy, other nations will feel that they must also do this. The action of the United States will have a profound influence upon the governments of South America and those in Asia, increasing tremendously the expenditure of the people's taxes for military purposes.

5. The fact that the United States is preparing against even a hypothetical enemy will make it much more difficult for her to act as a mediator in ending the war.

We believe in real defence against real dangers, but are opposed to preposterous preparedness against hypothetical dangers. We believe that armament and defence are not synonymous, and that there is already available a new economic compulsion which can be more powerful than any military force. This principle of non-intercourse, when completely applied, involves cancellation of passports, patents, copyrights, the cutting off of all railroad, shipping, postal, wire and wireless communication, and perhaps a supertax on a nation that has remained long obdurate, in order to recoup the nations that have been compelled to act.

We further deplore and protest against the introduction, continuance and increase of military training in our educational system, and urge propaganda against it.

Charter Members of the Women's Peace Party

Adams, Mrs. Frances L., Washington, D. C.
 Addams, Miss Jane, Illinois.
 Andrews, Mrs. Fannie Fern, Massachusetts.
 Allender, Mrs. Nina E., Washington, D. C.

Barr, Mrs. Frances Greeno, Kansas.
 Barrett, Mrs. Kate Waller, Virginia.
 Burch, Mrs. W. Thompson, Washington, D. C.
 Burritt, Miss Marian Tilden, New York.

Cabot, Miss Mary R., Massachusetts.
 Call, Mrs. Arthur D., Washington, D. C.
 Catt, Miss Carrie Chapman, New York.
 Chamberlain, Mrs. J. I., Washington, D. C.
 Churchill, Mrs. Winston, Washington, D. C.
 Colby, Miss Clara Bewick, Washington, D. C.
 Cutts, Miss Susan R., Washington, D. C.

Dean, Mrs. S. Ella Wood, Illinois.
 Duryea, Mrs. Anna S., Massachusetts.

Ellicott, Mrs. C. E., Maryland.
 Ellis, Mrs. Margaret D., Washington, D. C.
 Evans, Mrs. Elizabeth Glendower, Massachusetts.

Fels, Mrs. Joseph, Pennsylvania.
 Fitzgerald, Mrs. Susan Walker, Massachusetts.
 Forbes, Mrs. J. Malcolm, Massachusetts.
 French, Mrs. Rose Morgan, California.
 Funk, Mrs. Antoinette, Washington, D. C.

Gardner, Mrs. Gilson, Washington, D. C.
 Gilman, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins, New York.
 Gordon, Miss Helen, Washington, D. C.

Hemmick, Mrs. Christian D., Washington, D. C.
 Hill, Mrs. Caroline M., New York.
 Hill, Miss Elsie M., Washington, D. C.
 Hobbs, Miss Molly R., Maryland.
 Hogan, Mrs. Robert G., Maryland.
 Holbrook, Miss Florence, Illinois.
 Hopkins, Mrs. Nevil Monroe, Washington, D. C.

Jackson, Mrs. Huntington W., Washington, D. C.

Kent, Mrs. William, Washington, D. C.

La Follette, Mrs. Robert, Washington, D. C.
 Lathrop, Miss Julia C., Washington, D. C.
 Lillie, Mrs. Frank R., Illinois.
 Lloyd, Mrs. William Bross, Illinois.
 Ludlow, Dr. C. S., Washington, D. C.

Martin, Mrs. Edgar, Illinois.
 Mead, Mrs. Lucia Ames, Massachusetts.
 Miller, Mrs. Guion, Maryland.
 McGee, Dr. Anita Newcomb, Washington, D. C.
 McDowell, Miss Mary, Illinois.

Odell, Mrs. George, Washington, D. C.

Patrick, Miss Lucy S., Washington, D. C.
 Percy, Mrs. Mary Cruttenden, New York.
 Price, Mrs. Emma J., Washington, D. C.
 Post, Mrs. Louis F., Washington, D. C.

Ramsay, Mrs. Mabel Harte, Washington, D. C.
 Ransdell, Mrs. Olive Powell, Washington, D. C.
 Richards, Miss Janet E., Washington, D. C.
 Rublee, Mrs. Juliet Barrett, Washington, D. C.
 Russell, Mrs. Charles Edward, Washington, D. C.
 Ruutz-Rees, Miss Caroline, Connecticut.

Schmidt, Miss Lydia, Illinois.
 Shaw, Dr. Anna H., New York.
 Shelton, Mrs. Emma Sanford, Maryland.
 Simkhovitch, Mrs. Vladimir, New York.
 Sippy, Mrs. Bretram W., Illinois.
 Slayden, Mrs. James L., Texas.

Smallwood, Mrs. George T., Washington, D. C.
 Solomon, Miss Aline E., Washington, D. C.
 Speel, Mrs. J. N., Washington, D. C.
 Spencer, Mrs. Anna Garlin, Pennsylvania.
 Spray, Mrs. Ruth H., Colorado.
 Steere, Mrs. Jonathan M., Pennsylvania.
 Sternberg, Mrs. George, Washington, D. C.*
 Story, Mrs. Mary W., Washington, D. C.

Tarvin, Mrs. James Pryor, Washington, D. C.
 Thacher, Mrs. Ella Hoover, Washington, D. C.
 Trueblood, Miss Lyra D., Massachusetts.

Villard, Mrs. Henry, New York.

Watkins, Miss Catherine R., Washington, D. C.
 White, Mrs. John Jay, Washington, D. C.
 Whitney, Mrs. Josepha, Connecticut.
 Wicher, Mrs. George F., Illinois.
 Williams, Mrs. Frank F., New York.
 Wilmarth, Mrs. H. M., Illinois.
 Winchester, Miss A. M., Washington, D. C.
 Woodbury, Mrs. Frank P., Washington, D. C.
 Wright, Mrs. Cassius E., Washington, D. C.

HONORARY MEMBERS

Lawrence, Mrs. Pethick, England.
 Schwimmer, Madame Rosika, Hungary.

*Resigned.

List of Delegates to the Annual Meeting January 1916

Abbott, Mary Elnor, Washington, D. C.
 Abeel, Miss Ella J., Illinois.
 Adams, Mrs. Frances L., Washington, D. C.
 Addams, Miss Jane, Illinois.
 Allender, Mrs. Nina E., Washington, D. C.
 Andrews, Mrs. Fannie Fern, Massachusetts.
 Appleton, Mrs. A. S., New York.

Bank, Ida, New York.
 Barrett, Mrs. Kate Waller, Virginia.
 Berwick, Mary Stitz-Parker.
 Breckinridge, Miss Sophonisba P., Illinois.
 Burch, Mrs. W. T., Washington, D. C.
 Burritt, Marian Tilden, New York.
 Buttenheim, Mrs. Harold S., New Jersey.

Carey, Mrs. A. Morris, Maryland.
 Catterill, Miss Grace B., New York.
 Chamberlain, Mrs. James I., Washington, D. C.
 Clay, Miss Laura, Kentucky.
 Clemons, Mrs. Sarah A., Washington, D. C.
 Cleveland, Miss Cynthia E., Washington, D. C.
 Cogswell, Mrs. Hamlin, Pennsylvania.
 Colby, Mrs. Clara Bewick, Washington, D. C.
 Cook, Mrs. Henry Churchill, Washington, D. C.
 Cooper, Anne Thornhill, New York.
 Cothren, Mrs. Marion B., New York.
 Curtis, Miss Anna L., New York.
 Cutts, Miss Susan B., Washington, D. C.

Dales, Mrs. W. F., Washington, D. C.
 Day, Mrs. Florence Willard, Washington, D. C.
 Dewey, Mrs. John, New York.

Eastman, Miss Crystal, New York.
 Edmundson, Mrs. W. B., Alabama.
 Ellicott, Mrs. C. E., Maryland.
 Evans, Mrs. Elizabeth G., Massachusetts.

Fair, Martha, Jr., Washington, D. C.
 Forbes, Mrs. J. Malcolm, Massachusetts.
 Frank, Mrs. George S., New York.
 Fulder, Mrs. George L., Washington, D. C.

Gardner, Mrs. Gilson, Washington, D. C.
 Gale, Miss Zona, Wisconsin
 Gamage, Mrs Mary T., California.
 Gering, Mrs. Martin, Washington, D. C.
 Giffin, Miss Etta Joecelyn,, Washington, D. C.
 Greene, Mrs. Archibald, Washington, D. C.

Hanna, Mary Alice, Pennsylvania.
 Hastings, Mrs. Harry, New York.
 Heaven, Miss Alice M, Washington, D. C.
 Hill, Miss Elsie M., Washington, D. C.
 Hughan, Miss Evelyn, New York.
 Hughan, Miss Jessie, New York.
 Hughes, Miss Laura Marcan, New York.
 Hull, Mrs. William I., Pennsylvania.

Jenkins, Miss Alice F., Washington, D. C.

Kidder, Harriet Drake, Maine.
 Kingsbury, Mrs. A. W., Montana.
 Kittredge, Miss Mabel, New York.

Landers, Mrs. Julia, New York.
 Lane, Mrs. Margaret Lane, New York.
 Lauterback, Mrs. A. F., New York.
 Lewis, Mrs. Lucy Biddle, Pennsylvania.
 Lord, Miss E. H., Washington, D. C.
 Lubin, Mrs. David, Washington, D. C.

Mackaye, Jessie Hardy, Washington, D. C.
 McGee, Dr. Anita Newcomb, Washington, D. C.
 McKnight, Mrs. W. F., Michigan.
 Mead, Mrs. Lucia Ames, Massachusetts.
 Mygatt, Miss Tracy D., New York.

Newman, Miss A. Evelyn, New York.

Odell, Mrs. George, Washington, D. C.

Patrick, Miss Lucy S., Washington, D. C.

Percy, Mrs. Mary Cruttenden, New York.

Perkins, Mrs. A. M., Washington, D. C.

Pinchot, Mrs. Amos, New York.

Post, Mrs. Louis F., Washington, D. C.

Raymond, Miss Flora, Washington, D. C.

Ramsey, Mrs. Arthur, Washington, D. C.

Richards, Miss Janet E., Washington, D. C.

Robinson, Ellen, Washington, D. C.

Rogers, Miss Carrie E., Washington, D. C.

Rogers, Miss Dorinda E., Washington, D. C.

Rublee, Mrs. Juliet Barrett, Washington, D. C.

Russell, Mrs. Charles Edward, Washington, D. C.

Sanders, Mrs. J. L., New York.

Schutze, Mrs. Martin, Illinois.

Seal, Mrs. Joseph, New York.

Shaw, Mrs. R. G., Massachusetts.

Shelton, Mrs. Emma Sanford, Maryland.

Solomon, Miss Aline E., Washington, D. C.

Speel, Mrs. Virginia White, Washington, D. C.

Spray, Mrs. Ruth H., Maryland.

Stearns, Miss Emily Palmer, Washington, D. C.

Steere, Mrs. Jonathan M., Pennsylvania.

Tarvin, Mrs. James P., Washington, D. C.

Thomas, Mrs. William I., Illinois.

Timberlake, Mrs. C. B., Colorado.

Villard, Mrs. Harold H., New York.

Villard, Mrs. Henry, New York.

Van Sickle, Mrs. Caroline, Massachusetts.

Van Slingerland, Mrs. Nellie B., New York.

Walker, Dr. Mary E., Washington, D. C.

Walther, Mrs. S. Arthur, Illinois.

Wambaugh, Miss Sarah, Massachusetts.

Warbasse, Mrs. James P., New York.

White, Mrs. George W., Washington, D. C.

White, Mrs. John Jay, Washington, D. C.

White, Miss Laura, Kentucky.

Winchester, Miss Myra M., Washington, D. C.

Zilberman, Miss Bella Newman, New York.

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